Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań Institute of Polish Philology

ORCID: 0000-0002-4226-1378; e-mail: blazej.osowski@amu.edu.pl

Linguistic geography and historical material. An example of inventory ledgers from the second half of the 18th century kept in Wielkopolska¹

Abstract: This work connects with the dialectological aspect of linguistic geography. The analysed material consists of inventory ledgers kept in Wielkopolska in the second half of the 18th century for nobility possessions. It is assumed that the then regional variety of the Polish language spoken in Wielkopolska was geographically diverse and this diversity was anything but accidental. It was affected by the education of the communication actors (including the writers) and their command of the literary Polish language, dialectal influences, impact of foreign languages, presence of archaic and innovative elements. This diversity is reflected in inventory ledgers; an analysis thereof was aimed at excerpting examples of lexical variants. This work contains 4 selected examples: 'bogaty chłop' [a wealthy farmer], 'ziemniaki' [potatoes], 'mała izba' [a small room], 'niebieski' [blue]. Maps have been created for them. The analytical part is followed by generalisation of the variability in the surveyed sources (types of variability, its sources, levels, types of variants).

Keywords: linguistic geography, historical dialectology, 18th century, inventory ledgers, variability, a linguistic map.

Abstract: Geografia lingwistyczna a materiał historyczny. Na przykładzie wielkopolskich inwentarzy z drugiej polowy XVIII wieku. Niniejsza praca wpisuje się w nurt dialektologiczny geografii językowej. Analizowany materiał to wielkopolskie inwentarze dóbr szlacheckich z 2. połowy XVIII wieku. Zakłada się, że ówczesna wielkopolska polszczyzna regionalna była wewnętrznie zróżnicowana w wymiarze geograficznym i zróżnicowanie to nie miało charakteru przypadkowego, lecz wpływały na nie takie czynniki, jak: wykształcenie uczestników aktu komunikacji (w tym pisarzy) i opanowanie przez nich polszczyzny literackiej, wpływy gwarowe, wpływy obcych języków, obecność elementów archaicznych i innowacyjnych. Zróżnicowanie to odbija się w inwentarzach, a ich analiza miała za cel wyekscerpowanie przykładów wariantów leksykalnych. W niniejszej pracy przytoczono 4 wybrane przykłady: 'bogaty chłop', 'ziemniaki', 'mała izba', 'niebieski'. Stworzono dla nich mapy. Po części analitycznej sformułowano uogólnienie na temat wariantywności w badanych źródłach (typy wariantywności, jej źródła, poziomy, typy wariantów).

Słowa kluczowe: geografia lingwistyczna, dialektologia historyczna, XVIII wiek, inwentarze, wariantywność, mapa językowa.

¹ This article presents the theoretical suggestions and selected detailed issues included in Osowski 2019.

Introduction

This work connects with the dialectological aspect of linguistic geography. Since its origin, in a broader sense, linguistic geography has indicated the relations with a diachronic approach, and with historical dialectology in Poland (the emergence of the literary Polish language and the influence of the specific dialects). One of the tasks faced by linguistic geography² was description of the latest status of the language (dialects) and the resulting reconstruction of the previous states that could have been different from the contemporary ones. The reasons were explained by means of territorial expansion of one language system on another (Leszczyński 1980, 89–90).

Diachrony in language atlases is typically interpreted as drawing diachronic conclusions on the basis of the distribution of language features in contemporary (mostly 20^{th} century) dialectal atlases (Czyżewski 2012). To date, linguistic cartography has not been used to present historical data, mainly because the set of territorial data is insufficient. This information comes from inventory ledgers kept in the 2^{nd} half of the 18^{th} century in Wielkopolska (G, K, KP, P, RK I–III, cf. the subsequent description of the analysed material). The methods of linguistic geography applied with the historical material, e.g. inventory ledgers (recognised with respect to the place and date), can bring about interesting results because regional varieties of the Polish language often include regionalisms and dialectisms. A cartographic depiction of the 18^{th} century data provides an opportunity for comparison with the 20^{th} century atlases bearing in mind the variety-related differences in the mapped linguistic facts.

Contemporary historiographical research has abandoned the hope that it is possible to reach pure facts. Therefore, a historian is never able to fully reconstruct events from the past because he/she faces a multi-faceted source fact that calls for analysis i.e. what is left after a historical fact, directly unavailable to a historian. Consequently, a historical fact, interpreted this way or other, is never fully objective. What is more, the very search of facts depends on the previously suggested hypotheses (Kleszczowa 2007, 142–143). In the context of the analysed material, the inventory ledgers in question are a source fact which makes it possible to arrive at a historical fact i.e. the regional variety of the Polish language spoken in Wielkopolska³ in the second half of the 18th century. The primary hypothesis underpinning the analysis assumes that the

² The first Polish linguistic atlas (*Atlas językowy polskiego Podkarpacia* by Mieczysław Małecki and K. Nitsch from 1934 – AJPP) was written relatively quickly after West European works (*Atlas linguistique de la France* by Jules Gilliéron and Edmond Edmont from 1900–1912). It was followed by works on a national atlas of subdialects but the outbreak of WWII put a stop to the preparations. The work was resumed after the war and in 1957, the first volume of *Maly atlas gwar polskich* (MAGP) was published.

³ I define a regionalism as a non-general Polish linguistic feature (with a limited geographic range) used by educated people in a specific region (or several regions) while a dialectism is a non-general linguistic feature bereft of approval of the educated population. Therefore, dialectisms are equivalent with dialectal features while regionalisms can be sub-dialectisms by origin. A research challenge is posed by the diversity of regionalisms and dialectisms in historical texts. We certainly cannot assume that an emergence of a linguistic feature in a written (e.g. official) text is evidence of its literary pedigree because many writers used dialects despite their education. Insufficient command of the literary norm opened the door to dialectal features in texts.

regional Polish language spoken in Wielkopolska was internally diverse in the geographic aspect and the diversity was anything but accidental. It was affected by the education of the communication actors (including the writers) and their command of the literary Polish language, dialectal influences, impact of foreign languages, presence of archaic and innovative elements.

As Mirosława Sagan-Bielawa (2014, 10–12) has argued, the Partitions of Poland largely affected the linguistic awareness of the citizens of the Second Polish Republic in the Interwar period. As a result, Poles from Poznań felt cultural, social and customs-related closeness with Germans living in Poznań bigger than with Poles from the other regions of the country. Consequently, the traditional division of the country from before the Partitions gave way to the borders delineated by Prussia and Russia. In the face of this diagnosis of the post-Partitions situation, the status quo before the Partitions seems interesting. Was it marked by linguistic differences? The question can be partly answered by an analysis of inventory ledgers. They were common practice before the Partitions and after the first and second Partition. The research into the language spoken before the Partitions in Wielkopolska focused primarily on vocabulary because it is related to the biggest research needs (Dunaj 2010, 54). The Polish language spoken in the 18th century in Wielkopolska was a system including various elements and for this reason, the following variants have been at the centre of attention: elements which can be semantically identical but diverse with respect to the form, less frequently formally identical and semantically diverse.

In this work I present the opportunities offered by linguistic geography in analysing historical material; the examples used include variants of the following issues: 'bogaty chlop' [a wealthy farmer], 'ziemniaki' [potatoes], 'mała izba' [a small room], 'niebieski' [blue]. First, the historical background was presented and the condition of the language in the second half of the 18th century was regarded together with the linguistic policy of the Enlightenment, the analysed material and the work method with the variability theory. Next, the above mentioned invariants were analysed together with generalities about the scale and reasons for variability. The work finishes with summing up conclusions.

An outline of the historical situation – the condition of the society and the language

In the Age of Enlightenment, culture was identified with the ability to read. However, 90% of the society still acquired knowledge in a traditional way: "by looking and listening" (Chaunu 1989, 17). Enlightened Europe witnessed "a miracle of relative standardisation" (Chaunu 1989, 290) which resulted from a withdrawal of folk cultures and a triumph of the elite. It manifested itself in a negative attitude towards dialects and propagating a standard language all over the country, predominantly in the written form. Nevertheless, the miracle happened at a slow pace. In the late 17th and the early 18th centuries, 40% of the middle-rank nobility in Poland was illiterate; the same held

true for up to 90% of lower-rank nobility (Topolski 1999, 608)⁴. The situation affected the language spoken by the nobility.

Wojciech Ryszard Rzepka and Bogdan Walczak are certainly right in saying that in the 17th century (and probably later), the nobility's sociolect was different from the burghers' sociolect or the peasants' sociolect. In fact, that sociolect not only integrated the nobility but also differentiated its members. The nobility was integrated by rusticity, hospitality, the noble etiquette, the cult of the office, a specific sense of humour, a specific type of piety, oscillating between openness and megalomania and xenophobia, conviction of the extraordinary importance of the nobility, shared social and political ideology (golden freedom), a sense of equality within the estate of the realm and separateness from the other estates (Rzepka, Walczak 1992, 181-182). There were equally many features differentiating the nobility sociolect; territorial differentiation (regional varieties of the nobility sociolect: from the Eastern borderlands, Wielkopolska, Masovia, Pomerania and Silesia), stylistic, differences in the social roles, gender, share of foreign elements. The territorial differences in the nobility's language were primarily related to affluence and access to education. Therefore, the lowest "echelons of the nobility spoke subdialects or almost subdialects back in the 17th and 18th centuries (...)" (Rzepka, Walczak 1992, 185).

Among the various national groups living in Poland in the 18th century, attention should be devoted to Germans because the influence of the German language is manifested in the analysed inventory ledgers. Close contacts were kept with Germanised Silesia, Prussia and Gdansk. In Poland, thousands of Germans from Bohemia, Silesia and the German-speaking countries found shelter from religious prosecution. On the other hand, many Poles studied in Germany. Since the 17th century, in Wielkopolska and partly in Masovia, a large number of villages were established to accommodate mainly newcomers from Germany, followed by Poles and, by exception, the Dutch (HKMP, 21). All this was conducive to German influences on the Polish language. A reverse phenomenon could also have taken place, as testified by handbooks for learning Polish published with Germans in mind (Lewaszkiewicz 2015, 94). The numerous contacts between Polish and German languages could have resulted in interference.

The Enlightenment attached great importance to words because it was believed that there is a relation between language and reality. It was assumed that language has a social function, that language not only reflects the world around but also creates it (Postman 2001, 95–96). Features of regional origin were avoided. It was the only possibility because the Enlightenment was focused on reason and, apparently, it was the same for

⁴ In the light of the presented data one can say that with respect to the nobility's literacy, the situation in Wielkopolska was better. On the basis of an analysis of the captions in inventory books (single-handedly—manu propria, not single-handedly—with hand held, uncertain) it has been established that 71% of the signatories signed the documents single-handedly and only 12% with hand held. Detailed data (by counties) show that the biggest number of people who could sign a document was in Poznań county and, in general, in north-western Wielkopolska. The biggest number of not single-handed signatures was in south-eastern Wielkopolska (Gniezno, Kalisz, Konin, Kościan, Pyzdry counties). There is some correlation of data with the distribution of schools and Reformation centres in the west, north and south of the region (Osowski 2016a, 118–120).

all thinking entities, nations, epochs and cultures (Postman 2001, 31). The geographic diversity of the language was therefore a contradiction to this way of thinking.

The epoch perceived dialects as a corrupted form of the casual language or its more primeval form (Kloch 1995, 204); territorial varieties of the Polish language and the dialects were considered anomalies of the literary language (Zdaniukiewicz 1978. 330). What is more, in the Enlightenment, stability of language was appreciated (Krycińska 1969, 145); dialects, geographically diverse, assuming changeable and ephemeral oral forms, were apparently bereft of the stability. It comes as no surprise that this atmosphere was conducive to opinions aimed at excluding dialectal features from the literary language but also at destroying dialects as such. In 1790, Henri-Baptiste Grégoire, bishop of Blois, sent out a questionnaire in France with 43 questions about French dialects, e.g. Is it frequent for the subdialect to have several words to call the same thing? Ironically, the first dialectological questionnaire in France was devised to destroy dialects which were perceived as an anachronism from the previous (feudal) epoch, a variety of language devoid of abstract words and thus precluding intellectual development as an obstacle in the communication between the state and the subjects. Having received the replies to the questionnaire, in 1794 Grégoire presented to the National Assembly a Report on the need to destroy subdialects (Rapport sur la nécessité de détruire les patois) which was approved.

The analysed material

The value of the inventory ledgers is in the detailed information they provide. Noblemen were willing to keep records in county ledgers to record their rights to land. The intensification of this practice in the 18th century can be attributed to a transition from the oral culture (where the proprietary relations were maintained by human memory of the local community, the neighbourly friendship) to the written culture where the property rights were entrusted to acts independent from professional memory. Andrzej Pośpiech attributes the growing number of inventory ledgers to the growing individualisation of property and disintegration of the former familial structures, social and family ties (Pośpiech 1992, 37). This does not contradict the remarks on the oral and written cultures; rather, it supplements them.

The documents pertain mainly to gentry from Wielkopolska or from outside the region but closely related to it. This work encompasses the so-called Wielkopolska proper i.e. the 18th century provinces of Gniezno, Kalisz and Poznań plus the vicinity of Wschowa.

A majority of inventory ledgers were related to tenure of land. The farmers undertook to return the property after a specified time in a condition as upon receipt. In order to avoid possible misunderstanding, the condition of the property was described in detail in the inventory ledgers. The inventory was taken on the basis of experience and testimony given by the rural gathering (of special value were opinions of old men who remembered old times – they were considered sources of information more reliable than the written inventory ledgers). However, the earlier documents were not altogether disregarded. The text was subjected to the control of the landowner and the

farmer which is a guarantee of the authenticity of the details included in the ledgers (Rutkowski 1956, 151–152). However, it poses a methodological problem to a linguist. The text becomes a multi-faceted record including utterances of various individuals and social groups: the testifying farmers, the parties interested in the content of the document, the writer and, in the subsequent stages of the document's life, the copyist. We can assume that these individuals spoke different varieties of the language, from dialects to regional and literary Polish.

The inventory taking procedure was adopted exclusively by the interested individuals from outside the office; only later were the documents transferred to the proper ledgers thus being legally sanctioned. Interference of officials, employees of the county chancellery was in practice limited to receiving the act and copying it to the ledgers (Pośpiech 1992, 66). The fundamental linguistic form of an inventory ledger emerged as a result of actions on the part of the directly interested individuals. Interventions of the chancellery writers could have been secondary (if at all). Nevertheless, J. Kość is right to include the county ledgers into a group of texts from social circles other than elites, not subjected to the printer's corrections or intense self-correction of the writers (Kość 1992, 39). Therefore, the preserved language is of special value to establishing the image of the regional Polish language from that time.

Inventory ledgers have all the properties of official texts which, according to J. Kość, (Kość 2004, 38–40) place them as highly reliable in historical and linguistic research: regionality – the analysed inventory ledgers come from one region, territorial location – most of the documents contain information about the place where the text was written down and copied, the temporal location – a majority of the inventory ledgers bear the date of drafting the document and its copies, subtle normalization – a text written in the literary Polish language includes regional and sub-dialectal elements etc. Being a replica of an originally colloquial text, the verbal nature of the conveyed information is corroborated by the *verba dicendi*, micro toponyms and anthroponyms used by the locals, possible reconstruction of the historical, territorial and social varieties of the Polish language (Osowski 2016b, 96–100).

The theory of linguistic variability and the analysis method

The theory of linguistic variants evolved in relation with structuralism which differentiated between the dimension of language (*langue*) which is an abstract and social creation, and the dimension of speaking (*parole*) i.e. a specific and individual process. The system's unit is an abstract invariant (fixed and immutable) while the unit of speaking is a variant: implementation of an invariant in a specific text. It is assumed that variants compete with each other to occupy the same place in a language system (Urbańczyk 1977, 75).

In Polish linguistics, Adam Heinz provided methodological insight into the concept of a variant. In his opinion, the essence of variability is represented in the multiplication of "a specific system unit which (...) assumes forms which are different but equivalent with respect to the essence of that unit" (Heinz 1974, 139). The "equivalent forms" are real variants in texts while the "system unit" is an invariant, an abstract notion.

The dependence of variability from the scale of the overview was identified also in socio-linguistics. As a result, the macro scale has been defined (social classes, strata, professional categories, territorial communities) and the micro scale operating on small groups, from several to over a dozen individuals (Bartol-Jarosińska 1989, 18). By referring the above establishments to our material, we can distinguish variability on the macro level (a region), the mezzo level (as part of smaller areas, e.g. counties) and the micro level (within a location). As for the micro level, attention should be drawn to intra-textual and inter-textual variability as well as the impact of the writer's idiolect on the content of the inventory ledger.

These deliberations are supplemented by Hanna Orzechowska's stance who considers variants not only language units which occur as alternations on a single level of a language but also on different levels, e.g. morphology – syntax (Orzechowska 1989, 163). While examining variability in the inventory ledgers, the main part of the analysis was devoted to lexical variants (single-word forms and multi-word structures were considered, a type of stable combinations) i.e. formally diverse renditions of the same (or similar) content (e.g. 'schody'[stairs] – schody, trepa, wschody etc.). For control purposes, under scrutiny was the same form with diverse meanings (e.g. chlew – 'an enclosed area where pigs are kept', 'an enclosed area where horses are kept', 'an enclosed area where cows are kept' etc.).

The material, excerpted and grouped into types, is presented in a cartographic⁵ and/ or statistical form⁶. The described geographic arrangements of variants are compared with the status in the 19th century (established mostly on the basis of language atlases). Owing to numerous atlases, data from the 18th century can be related to both 20th century national as well as regional analyses (MAGP, AGP). A comparison of these two periods results in a dynamic picture: progressive, regressive and inert units (Książek-Bryłowa 1992, 173). However, these works are not fully comparable. Data from inventory ledgers represent a regional variety of the Polish language (with literary, regional and dialectal elements) while the atlases contain predominantly dialects. We have juxtaposed them for comparison purposes because they are strongly related to the territory (including presence of dialectal elements in the inventory ledgers) and lack of a historical picture of the dialects in the time in question and lack of cartographic works for the then regionalisms. Nevertheless, the above mentioned simplification needs to be considered.

What is more, the analysed vocabulary has been viewed with respect to inclusion into lexicographic collections (historical and contemporary) in order to separate archaic units, innovative units (neo-semantic, new derivatives and expressive forms), dialectal and regional.

The comparative aspect of the work has a double meaning: the analysed material should be referred not only to the General Polish language but also other contemporary

⁵ Maps not only combine the precision and accuracy with the clarity of the data exposure; they also allow to spare inclusion of long lists of locations where the specific variants occurred. Only in few situations, the data have not been presented in a cartographic way.

⁶ The tables supplement the maps with a mosaic-like data arrangement. They sort out sets of numbers as part of administrative units thus underpinning generalisations.

regional varieties from the time in question⁷. The idea of comparing analogical texts, written at the same time but in different regions, is particularly valuable because isolating the results of regional studies from a national perspective leads to erroneous conclusions⁸. Unfortunately, in a majority of cases we cannot resort to suitable regional analyses that could be used in comparisons of the material from inventory ledgers.

An ideal structure of presenting the selected lexical and semantic issues in an analytical part contains a historical and cultural introduction to the analysed issue, with information about the ethnographic diversity of the referents, if available, which could have affected the language), an etymological analysis of the units (unless otherwise indicated, explications as in Boryś 2008), lexicographic and atlas-related research, an analysis of data from inventory ledgers by means of cartographic and statistical methods. In the specific cases, the structure is modified. In total, the analysis encompasses over 50 invariants for which 44 maps have been drawn; this work presents 4 exemplary invariants.

Analysis: selected examples

1. 'Bogaty chłop' [A wealthy farmer] (map 1)

The social hierarchy in the rural areas in the 18th century was quite rigid and sometimes applied with the precision of a mathematician, e.g. *he wanted to make 10 semi-farm owners out of 5 farm owners* (P 19 Głuponie: 144)⁹. Originally, the property ratio between a farm owner and a semi-farm owner was 1 : 2 (land – semi-land) but over time, these differences started to blur (Baranowski 1958, 48, Szczepański 1971, 148).

The phrases referring to 'a wealthy farmer' are represented in the inventory ledgers by: *gbur*, *gospodarz* (the general meaning close to 'a farmer' or 'a peasant' was disregarded), *kmieć*, *rolnik* (only when the context suggested clearly that this was not a general meaning). Derivative forms have also been regarded, e.g. *na kmiecym polu*

⁷ In her research into the historical Polish language in Silesia, A. Kowalska concluded that from a methodological point of view, a possibly broad comparative background should be considered. It should include not only the general literary Polish language from a specific time but, if possible, its regional varieties, especially from the adjacent areas (Kowalska 2002, 19).

⁸ For example, when Aleksander Zajda described 22 rare words known from rural ledgers, he finished his reasoning in the following way: "Their geography is limited to south Lesser Poland because this is where the ledgers come from. We do not know if they occurred elsewhere (...)" (Zajda 2001, 429). Meanwhile, the words *ruchome* 'movable property' and *pańskie* 'obligatory work rendered by subjects in a manor, serfdom' occur in Gniezno ledgers (G: 310 i G: 142). This only proves that comparison of material from various regions is indispensable.

Zofia Kowalik-Kaletowa is also right in saying that the dialectological sources from the 20^{th} century are not sufficient to decide that old forms (which in the 17^{th} and 18^{th} centuries could have had a status of literary works) are dialectal. Similarly, it is hard to define the ranges of the features because in the past, they could have taken different courses (Kowalik-Kaletowa 1970, 139–140). In defining the ranges of linguistic features, inventory ledgers come in handy, which are localised and abundant.

⁹ When quoting material from the inventory ledgers, an abbreviation of the source is provided, the number of the text in a specific collection, the location and the age following a colon. If the location is not important, a concise transcript is used, consisting of a symbol of the source and the page.

(KP 38 Goniczki: 139), *na kmiestwie* (P 16 Sienowice: 136), *kmietka* (RK II 64 Karmin: 159), *Kmiotka* (RK III 131 Karmin: 172).

The excerpted variants are of different origin:

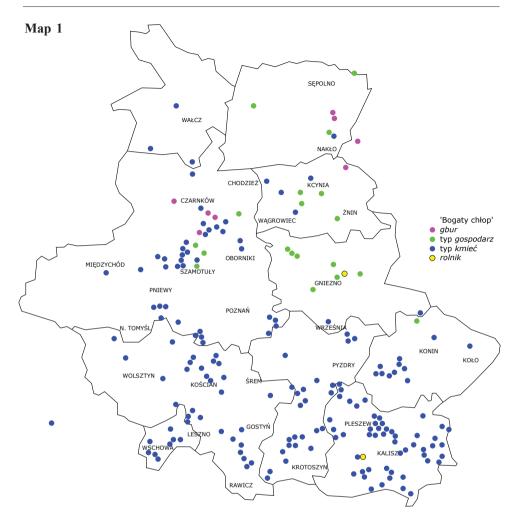
- **gbur** a borrowing from a medieval German **gebūr** / **gebūre** 'neighbour; peasant; a simpleton', Low German **gebūr** 'a peasant, a settler; a neighbour' in confrontation with the Polish subdialects, the original meaning was enriched with the 'wealthy' element;
- gospodarz from the Proto-Slavic *gospodb 'host, lord, ruler', *gospodib in the same meaning or *gospoda 'gentlemen, mister and mistress, hosts, rulers, members of the higher stratum of the society', modelled by the productive type of names of agents with the formant *-arb; therefore, subdialects retained their original meaning while in the literary Polish language, it was limited to 'any farmer, peasant', without the 'wealthy' element;
- kmieć Slavic *kwmetb 'patrician, high-level official' > 'a wealthy peasant; a countryman', a borrowing most probably from the Romance form *coměte(m) or *cuměte(m) which continued the Latin comes, comitis 'a companion of a ruler, a chieftain; a member of the ruler's entourage', later to indicate various officials;
- **rolnik** from the adjective **rolny** (from the Proto-Slavic ***orloji** / ***orloja** 'tillage, farming; arable, tilled field') with the -**ik** formant.

Gospodarz, kmieć and rolnik have been included in all the used dictionaries but only some of them record the specific meaning 'a wealthy farmer'. Typically, a general definition is provided ('a farmer tiling land'). Gospodarz 'a wealthy farmer' occurs in the SXVI and the SXVII (with Kalisz inventory ledgers from the first half of the 18th century), kmieć in the SXVII, the SW (subdialectal) and the PSWP (historical). In the meaning of our interest, gbur occurs only in the SW (with a subdialect qualifier) and in the SD (referred to as subdialectal, northern). Consequently, all the mapped entries need to be deemed differential with respect to the meaning against the Polish language spoken in the 18th century.

J.S. Bandtkie refers to *gbur* as a Wielkopolska provincialism (Pepłowski 1988, 308) but it was also known in Pomerania (Breza 1991, 91; Lewińska 2005, 56). On the other hand, *kmieć* 'a wealthy farmer' was also recorded in Lesser Poland (Kobylińska 1996, 344; Bułat 2009, 25) and *gospodarz* 'a more affluent farmer' in Lesser Poland (Bułat 2009, 26) and in Silesia (Burzywoda 1983). In this context, they would be neo-semantisms.

In the 20th century subdialects, *kmieć* meaning 'a wealthy farmer' occurred in southern Poland, western Wielkopolska and, less frequently, in central Poland. (...) *Gbur* (...) occurs in northern Silesia with areas adjacent to Syców and Rawicz and in northern Poland (from Kuyavia to Kashubia and Masuria). In the north, *gbur* occurs sometimes with an additional defining adjective (*duży*, *większy* [big, bigger] etc.) because *gbur* alone may indicate any farmer (rich or poor) (...)" (MAGP IX, 136–137)¹⁰. What is more, all over Poland (except for a part of Silesia, Pomerania and Masuria as

¹⁰ In the case of atlases, Roman numerals indicate the volume while Arabic numerals indicate the number of a map (abbreviated m.) or page.



* Due to the technical limitations and with the map's transparency in mind, the names of the locations are not provided, only names of larger places.

well as central Poland), (duży, bogaty) gospodarz¹¹ was mixed with other names (MAGP IX 446). According to the AJKLW VII 597, the reach of gbur in Wielkopolska is smaller, in fact limited to the area to the north of the Noteć river; kmieć occurs in an area enclosed by the line between Międzyrzecz, Kościan and Wschowa and in the vicinity of Gostyń, Rawicz, Pleszew, Kalisz and Konin, in single cases gospodarz and phrases accompanying the noun remain geographically unspecified. As the MAGP IX 446 has indicated, in the 20th century Wielkopolska did not have separate phrases

¹¹ In the inventory ledgers, combinations like *Gospodarze na większej roli* (G 26 Goranin: 98), *gospodarz większy* (G 26 Goranin: 98) were subordinated to the *gospodarz* type.

to define 'a wealthy farmer'. This is confirmed by the AGP II 164 (gbur in Masuria) and the AJPP 5 (rolnik, gospodarz, kmieć).

In the light of the MAGP IX 446 i AJKLW VII 597, bamber, bauer, bogacz, bogol, bur, gburas, koltun, kulak, pampuń and witos look like new words because they are not included in the inventory ledgers. These are mostly single confirmations where only the bauer and bogacz types have broader ranges (the former in southern Wielkopolska, the latter in nearly all subdialects in the region).

The map of the 'gbur' variants is an exception against the other maps because, with a large number of villages (199), two variants (kmieć, rolnik) coexisted in only one location (Górzno). Therefore, this is not variability on a micro level (village) but only on a higher level: macro and mezzo. The exceptional nature of the map lies also in the very distinct ranges of the specific variants. The kmieć type is exclusive to the south of the line between Międzyrzecz, Pniewy, Poznań and Konin. In the north, the type is accompanied by other variants. Gniezno county is an exception here as the central location of gospodarz (accompanied by kmieć only in the south) which occurs sporadically also in the adjacent areas, mainly in Poznań and Kcynia. The word gbur has a very narrow range limited to the vicinity of Wieleń and Czarnków as well as the west and north of Nakło. Rolnik is confirmed only twice.

A comparison of the status defined on the basis of the inventory ledgers and 20th century subdialects (AJKLW VII 597) shows a similarity in the occurrence of *gbur* only in the north of the region while in the 18th century, *kmieć* was not limited solely to two enclaves in the south but was the prevailing type. Within 200 years, *kmieć* gave way under the pressure of *bamber* and *bogacz*. The remaining variants occurred too rarely for valid generalisations.

2. 'Ziemniaki' [potatoes]

Initially, potatoes were grown in Europe as a garden plant. It was not until the late 18th century when they gained popularity in France (Chaunu 1989, 265) and in Poland (Ochmański 1965, 271). Jędrzej Kitowicz, an 18th c. historian, had a different view, calling potatoes *jablka ziemne* [apples of the earth] or, "in more present" nomenclature, *kartofle*. According to him, potatoes made their debut during the reign of Augustus III of Poland in the crown land managed by Germans who introduced the vegetable. Initially, potatoes were not popular among Poles who considered them harmful to health and susceptible to profanity (mixing potato starch with wheat flower to bake altar wafers). The German and Dutch settlers in Wielkopolska contributed to the popularisation of potatoes as Polish farmers started to copy the methods of cultivating and serving potatoes. At the end of the reign of Augustus III, potatoes were apparently known all over Poland. According to J. Kitowicz, *ziemniaki* and *bulwy* were different plants (Kitowicz 1985, 295).

The hypothesis that in the 18th century potatoes were not very common is corroborated by the small number of names in the analysed inventory ledgers and a complete lack thereof in the names of food products in rural ledgers examined by E. Horyń (2008).

To Polish people (and inhabitants of Wielkopolska), the region and potatoes (*pyry*) are intrinsically connected. This is the reason why I have included words indicating 'potatoes' even if sometimes they have single confirmations. These words include:

- jablka ziemne a calque from the French pommes de terre;
- *kartofle* − a borrowing, *kartofel* < German *Kartoffel*;
- pantówki from Low German Pantüffel 'potato' (AJK III, 89);
- perki "this is the Old Polish dialectal pyrka: 'something bulging, protuberant; a bulb'" (Bańkowski 2000). Anna and J. Basar indicated the similarity with the form pyrkać 'to spatter, to growl' meaning 'what spatters while cooking' (Basara, Basara 1992, 42). The AJK III, 90 combines it with the German Birne 'pear' and suggests a hypothetical link with Peru.

In the light of the used dictionaries, among the analysed variants only *kartofle* are of literary nature (from the SL to the PSWP). At the same time, the form *perki* emerged but the SL provides information that this is what "simpletons" called potatoes. The SWil qualifies it as provincial, the SW as folk and provincial, the SD and the PSWP as regional. *Pantówki* is included in the SWil (provincial) and the SW (folk and provincial). *Jablka ziemne* occur in the SL (under the entry *kartofel*) while in the SWil and the SW the phrase indicates a different plant. Therefore, *kartofle* and *jablka ziemne* should be deemed literary forms while *pantówki* (J.S. Bandtki considered it a provincial word from Wielkopolska – Pepłowski 1988, 308) and *perki* should be classified as differential (the latter mentioned in S.B. Linde's work on regional dialectal forms in Wielkopolska – Matuszczyk 2005, 267).

Two maps in the AJKLW make it possible to compare the old names and the new names for 'potatoes'. Juxtaposing them with data excerpted from inventory ledgers provides an even broader perspective. Table 1 presents this information in a synthetic way.

	pyrki	pery	kartofle	bulwy	ziemniaki	pantówki	sasoki
Inventory ledgers	perki – Będzieszyn, Bilczew, Gostynie, Góra, Karski, Morawin (Kalisz area)		Kiełczew Górny (Konin area), Górzno (Kalisz area)	no examples	only jabłka ziemne (Biniew, Kalisz area)	Rososzyca (Kalisz area)	no exam- ples
AJKLW III 353 'old names for potatoes'	the most common name	concentrated in the west and south-west, less frequent in the north and sporadic in other areas	rare in the past, more frequent in the east, Kuyavia and scattered locations	small concentrated range on the border between Ostrzeszów, Kępno and Silesia, rare elsewhere	the eastern part of the Wieluń area	in Kuyavia and near Wyrzysk	areas of the Prosna river around Wieluń

Table 1. 18th and 19th century names for potatoes in Wielkopolska

AJKLW III 354 'contempo- rary names for potatoes'	Still in use though together with kartofle and ziemniaki	optionally in the western part	range bigger than in the past, in the south-east ousted sasoki, bulwy, knule and pantówki optionally in Kuyavia; optionally in east and south-west Wielkopolska and sporadically in the	very rare occurrences	marking their presence since after WWII, an optional name	disappear- ing	un- known
			sporadically in the north				

On top of that, the AJKLW III 353 recorded knule in three locations in Silesia.

In the 18th century in Wielkopolska, the names for potatoes were not very common. However, back then the most popular form was *perki* whose range would narrow down over the centuries while the word's status changed from prevailing to alternative. At the same time, the morphological forms developed: the inventory ledgers recorded exclusively *perki*, the AJKLW III 353: *pery*, *pyrki*, *pyruszki*. *Kartofle* prove to be strongly related to the eastern part of the region, in the past and in the 20th century alike. In the 18th century, *pantówki* occurred quite far from their 20th century ranges but a single confirmation could have been accidental. *Bulwy*, *knule*, *sasoki* and *ziemniaki* are not found in the inventory ledgers for reasons unknown: they were either unfamiliar or were associated with subdialects and thus blocked by the writer's linguistic awareness.

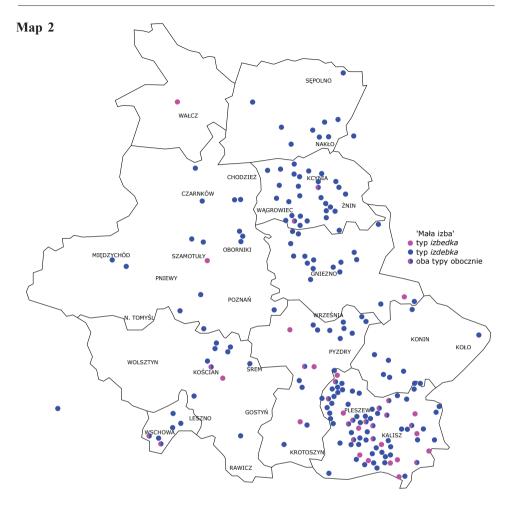
3. 'Mała izba' [a small chamber] (map 2)

The variants of the meaning analysed here are limited to the diminutives of the basic word *izba* and they occur in two major variants: *izbedka* (or with alternative spelling *izbetka*) and *izdebka* (with numerous confirmations of a second degree diminutive: *izdebeczka* – P 99 Świdnica: 489).

Both derivatives come from the main word *izba* < Proto-Slavic **jъstъba* 'heated living quarters; subterranean quarters, a dugout' (originally 'a primitive steam bath, a sauna (in a dugout)', a borrowing from the folk Latin **extŭfa* / *extūfa* 'steam bath'). The original regular diminutive of the basic form was *istebka*; under the influence of *izdba*, it was changed to -*zb*- to result in *izdebka*. Consequently, in the course of metathesis, this form led to *izbedka* (Bańkowski 2000).

Izdebka was first confirmed in the SXVI and it occurs in all the dictionaries written in the subsequent periods. *Izbedka* was first recorded in the SXVI, then in the XVII, and only then in the SW where it was marked as a subdialectal form. A lack of *izbedka* in the SL indicates that it was differential with respect to the literary Polish language in the 18th century. This did not prevent the form from appearing in Silesia (Wyderka 1985, 57; Wyderka 1990, 85; Burzywoda 1983).

There are no atlases containing the forms of our interest; only J. Siatkowski devoted some attention to the diminutives of the word *izba*. Map 31 (Siatkowski 1958) presents *izbka* and *izbetka*; the latter occurred in nearly the entire area except for the



vicinity of Ostróda, Olsztyn, Nidzica, Szczytno and Pisz. Therefore, the differential form *izbedka* is not typical only of Wielkopolska.

As for the inventory ledgers, the general Polish word *izdebka* prevails, most frequently as an exclusive form. *Izbedka* per se occurred in 19 locations and in 19 other locations as an alteration of the main variant. The small number of confirmations of the differentiating forms is dispersed nearly all over Wielkopolska: the *izbedka* type did not occur only in Konin and Nekla counties.

4. 'Niebieski' [blue]

When excerpting the words for 'blue', into consideration were taken adjectives and derivative forms (adverbs). The collected words refer to both the prime colour and its varieties of different intensity ('light blue' and 'dark blue') but without other colours added. The word *granatowy* [navy blue] was disregarded because it was impossible to establish whether it meant 'dark blue' or 'dark red' as it occurs in subdialects (Zaręba

1954, 53–54); similarly, *jasny* was ignored ('blue' or 'a bright hue of a colour'). In several locations, the word *lazurowy* appeared (Dobieszewko, Kcynia county) and *blawatny* (Nakło) – due to singular confirmations, they have been ignored in the analysis.

The more frequent occurrences included:

- **blękitny** 'intense blue, azure' a borrowing from Old Czech **blankytný**, light blue, which comes from **blankyt** 'the colour light blue' < Old High German ***blankhīt** 'brightness' < Old High German **blank** 'bright, shiny';
 - modry 'intense blue, dark blue' < Proto-Slavic *modrъ 'blue, dark blue';
- *niebieski* 'the colour of cloudless sky, bright blue, azure' < Proto-Slavic **ne-besьskъ* 'related to the sky', over time the meaning narrowed to the contemporary 'related to the colour of the sky', an innovation in some North Slavic languages.

Blękitny and modry are mentioned in the SStp, niebieski in the context of our interest is mentioned in the SXVI through the PSWP. It might seem that these are unmarked, general units. However, I. Włodek qualifies modry as an old, neglected word (LO3, 432) while J. Brzeziński is of an opinion that niebieski began to occur more frequently not earlier than in the 18th century texts (Brzeziński 1979, 19). Nevertheless, despite the daily habit of referring to the colour of the eyes, noblemen could have known the words niebieski, blękitny, modry from poetry (Brzeziński 1979, 100) which could have maintained the longevity of the words.

The above mentioned words are sometimes treated as synonymous with 'niebieski'; other times, they differ mainly with respect to the intensity of the hues ('light blue' – 'dark blue')¹². This status is reflected in atlases of dialects from the 20th century. According to the MAGP IX 531, in Wielkopolska (and Silesia, in north-western Lesser Poland, Sieradz Łęczyca areas and partly in Masovia), 'light blue' is referred to as *jasny*, in the south – *niebieski* (all over Poland) or *modry* (known also in south Silesia, Masuria, Tuchola, Kociewie, Kashubia and Masovia), *siwy* in the east (mainly in Lesser Poland). The AJŚ III 259 confirms *niebieski* as 'light blue' in south Wielkopolska (except for the vicinity of Rawicz where *jasny* prevails). As a national unit, *niebieski* is also mentioned in the AJPP 432.

All the forms recorded in the inventory ledgers are known from Polish dialects as indicating 'dark blue' (MAGP IX 532): *niebieski* (central Poland), *modry* (Silesia, north-western Lesser Poland, a part of Sieradz area, Masovia, Kuyavia and Pomerania), *blękitny* (Lublin area). Between Rybnik and Czadca, the AJPP 432 also confirms the form *modry*. The AJK IV 184 recorded *modry* and *niebieski* meaning 'blue'.

The above mentioned forms occurred in total in only 26 locations (predominantly Kalisz county and therefore a decision was made against a map). The rarest form is *blękitny* – only 2 locations. *Modry* was more popular only in documents from Kalisz county (as an exclusive form in Rajsko, Staw and Morawin, alternately with *niebieski* in Karmin, Kuczków and Wszołów) and also in Samoklęski Duże (Kcynia county). *Niebieski* was the most frequent and geographically most popular variant.

It is difficult to draw conclusions about the geographic distribution on the basis of a small number of locations. Only in 4 locations, alternative forms were recorded; it is

¹² Alfred Zaręba noted that there is not a single common word for the colour blue in dialects (Zaręba 1954, 36).

hard to say if they are synonyms of a single colour or words for various hues thereof. It is certainly surprising to see that *modry* is almost non-existent outside Kalisz county; in the 20th century, it was largely confirmed in the subdialects of western Poland (Zaręba 1954, 38–39). This fact may be explained by I. Włodek's remark that *modry* was an obsolete word (perhaps it had already existed in subdialects as an archaism) and therefore, the form did not make way to the texts because of the linguistic policy of the Enlightenment.

The scale and conditions of variability

The above discussed examples of variants were typically macro-oriented (on a regional level) and mezzo-oriented (on the level of smaller units: counties and arrangements of linguistic features). The maps allowed to describe variability conditioned by geographic factors while in the descriptions, attention was paid to possible material diversity of the referents, the influence of foreign languages or peripheral locations. Now I will focus on the micro perspective (single locations). The occurrence of variants within a single research location may be related to extra-linguistic factors (referents), geographic and textual factors. The deliberations will be presented against more general comments about variability in the analysed inventory ledgers.

Let me start with the scale of the variability. It was established on the basis of the ratio between the locations where at least 2 variants occurred and the number of all the locations where at least one variant was recorded of the mapped issue. The scope of variability oscillates between 0% and 36.2%; on average, the locations with parallel variants represent 14% of them all. Therefore, the variability in a specific location is not frequent.

Of course, the more locations on a map the more locations with variants; however, the values do not grow proportionately, przez - 303 locations (incl. 43 with variants), 'other' - 317 (72), 'cart' - 320 (27), bez - 328 (14). The number of systemic variants is insignificant. In the case of all the mentioned invariants, the maps registered not more than 2 variants in a single location; there is no pattern for a larger number of variants, either.

Let me proceed with several comments on systemic variants (all the potential variants for a specific issue) and textual variants (variants which occurred in a single location). In the analysed set of more than 50 issues, from 2 (13 analyses) to 18 variants (1 map) were taken into consideration. On average, there are 4.2 variants per one mapped issue. As it is easy to predict, the more possible variants to choose from, the more locations with more than 2 variants. However, the trend is true for 2–6 systemic variants (with at least one location with the maximum number of variants). In the case of 7 and more variants, the trend collapses. When there are 7, 9 and 18 possible variants, 4 variants may coexist in a single location while with 8 possible variants – only 3. While, theoretically, a large part of textual variants can occur in a single location, in fact these cases are very rare. The maximum number of systemic and textual variants overlap 36 locations for 7 issues with 3 variants, 1 location on the map with 4 variants, 2 locations for 2 issues with 5 variants and 1 location on the map with 6 variants.

Therefore, systemic variants do not always tend to be textual variants. On the other hand, textual variants are not always idiolectal variants.

The above mentioned types of variants are variants within a single location. However, in some locations there are two types of variability: inner-textual and inter-textual. The latter occurs when all the variants appear in a single document. The latter occurs when some variants appear in one text and other variants are used in another text (other texts). A mixed type is also possible if all the analysed variants occur in one document and, additionally, in others. When it comes to an inner-textual variance, we are quite confident to say that it is idiolectal variability (assuming that the language of a document is identified with the language of a single person, e.g. the writer). On the other hand, inter-textual variance may include idiolects of different people. Therefore, this is an example of variability of a micro-group (writers, copyists etc.).

In the locations with two variants, inner-textual variability is more common (nearly 51%). The numbers of inner-textual and mixed variants are nearly equal, with a slight prevalence of the latter. As the number of variants in a location grows, so does the mixed-type group (65% with three variants and 75.5% with four); at the same time the number of inner-textual variants decreases (26.6% and 20.8%, respectively) and so does the number of inter-textual variants (8.2% and 3.8%) which in locations with five or six variants are insignificant. This is because with every subsequent document, there are more variants characteristic of various idiolects.

The emergence of variants is affected by the writer's language, it is not an automatic phenomenon. Therefore, we need to take into consideration the influence of many other factors. The multi-faceted nature of the inventory ledgers seems most important; many people were involved in writing the texts, starting with the testifying farmers, the interested parties, the writers of the previous inventory ledgers and individuals writing down a document, perhaps even copyists. The elements of the language of each of these individuals may be included in the documents and trigger off variants. The multi-faceted nature of the inventory ledgers is also related to other factors including the geographic, chronological and genetic diversity of the vocabulary, the impact of material factors (diversity of the referents).

Once the affinity of variants with varieties of the Polish language is considered together with the types of elements of language, some patterns emerge¹³. The lexical issues related to rural life (114 variants – table 1) have a smaller percentage of general variants than lexical issues not related to rural life (57 variants – table 2). This is confirmation that the type of the analysed issue affects the vocabulary's affinity with a variety of a language. However, in both groups, general vocabulary prevails. This is why, seeking only differential elements in the regional varieties of the Polish language largely distorts the picture. Nearly 2/3 of the words related to rural life and nearly 3/4 of the vocabulary not related to rural life belong to the general Polish variety.

As for borrowings, it turns out that before the Partitions, they represented at least 20% of Wielkopolska's vocabulary (Table 2). There were slightly more borrowings in the vocabulary unrelated to rural life (30%) which may result from the isolation of

¹³ Lexical issues related and unrelated to rural life were considered; semantic issues with only 5 identified variants were disregarded.

rural areas in the 18th century, resistant to developmental and linguistic changes. Among the borrowings, Germanisms prevailed (e.g. kub, ozd, pantówki, zaga), followed by Latinisms (e.g. rekwizyta), Italianisms (e.g. moręgi) and Gallicisms (calque jablka ziemne). The German influences included old and new borrowings alike (fasa – tynka) whereas the borrowings from the remaining languages were rather new. Among the slightly more numerous borrowings, Germanisms stand out (they could have occurred in the general Polish language and dialects, which they probably infiltrated together with new referents or during contacts between Polish and German farmers, e.g. settlers of Dutch or German ancestry) and borrowings from Latin which should be associated only with the literary Polish language and the general command thereof among the Polish nobility.

Borrowed variants Native Issues Total variants Germanisms Latinisms Italianisms Gallicisms Rural 80% 17% 2% Λ 1% 114 19% 7% 4% 0 Non-rural 70% 57

Table 2. Native and borrowed variants

In the variety of the Polish language spoken in Wielkopolska in the second half of the 18th century, general vocabulary played a major role, followed by neo-semantisms, derivatives and borrowings. Old vocabulary, with changed phonetics, casual and regional, played an insignificant role (up to 2%).

Issues	Units								
	General	Regional	Semantic diff.	Structural diff.	Diff. borrow- ings	old	Phonetic diff.	old	
Rural	63	1	15	12	4	3	2	0	
Non-rural	71	0	7	7	9	2	2	2	

Table 3. Types of variants

Diff. – differentiation /differentiating

Conclusion

Variability is a multi-faceted phenomenon; when examined with respect to geographic diversity, various levels thereof should be considered: the macro level (an entire area, e.g. a region), a micro level (the most detailed level, e.g. a village) and the mezzo level (an intermediate level of e.g. sub-regions, lower-level administrative

units). Whatever is a systemic variant (on the biggest scale, the entire research material), does not necessarily need to be a variant on lower levels: local, textual or idiolectal. Notably, the emergence of variants may be affected also by individual features. So we need to examine documents which describe more than one village as well as locations described in more than one document. The occurrence of variants in a text reflects the influence of the writer's idiolect although this is not an automatic phenomenon. The diversity of variants in the various locations described in the same text is affected by the multi-faceted nature of the inventory ledgers (a text is written as a result of cooperation of several people), the geographic, chronological and genetic factors as well as the material diversity of the described objects.

In the course of examining lexical variability, we should not focus entirely on looking for the differentiating features because analyses have shown that approximately 2/3 to 3/4 of vocabulary belongs to the general Polish variety. The remaining part of the vocabulary consists of neo-semantisms (*suszenie* 'malt drying place'), new derivatives (*bojewica*), borrowings (*kubel* 'a place where porkers were kept'), colloquialisms (*reperować*), archaisms (*kokot*), regionalisms (*pólślednik*), lexicalised dialectal phonetic forms (*sabatnik*). The number of the specific types of vocabulary was impacted by the type of the issue at hand, related or not to rural life. This is most vividly demonstrated in borrowings (20% of genetically foreign words in areas related to rural life and 30% in areas unrelated to it). Therefore, the share is close to the share of Germanisms in the urban subdialect spoken in Poznań (approx. 29% – Walczak 1997, 67), shaped mainly in the 19th century i.e. a time of an intense influence of the German language. While this issue requires further research we can see now that even before the Partitions, the regional variety of the Polish language spoken in Wielkopolska included a huge number of borrowings with prevailing Germanisms (18–19%).

The use of the linguistic cartographic method in an analysis of historical data has demonstrated both the benefits and the shortcomings of the procedure. The benefits include:

- verification of dictionary data: pólślednik, referred to in the SL as typical of Wielkopolska, did not occur in the entire region, but mainly in its south-western part (Kościan and Poznań counties);
- verification of academic data: tesarz and gbur, recorded by researchers in Pomerania, were defined as regional and Pomeranian units but they were also known in Wielkopolska. Therefore, these words have a geographic range bigger that we previously thought. A compilation of the vocabulary from the inventory ledgers (and other sources) written in other regions will provide further verification of the territorial ranges of the specific lexemes. We may find out that the conclusions presented in this article will also need to be verified;
- presentation of the internal (geographic) diversity of the regional varieties of the Polish language. Researchers into historical and regional varieties of the language draw attention to its diversity, mainly in the social aspect i.e. they take notice of the influence of various factors, including the writer's education, sex and affluence, on the command of the norm of the literary language and the presence of subdialectal features; linguistic cartography allows to present also the variety's geographic diversity;

- indication of the relations between phrasemes in a specific region and other regions: the differential inventory material typically reflected the relations between Wielkopolska and Silesia and Pomerania. Let me emphasise yet again that an analysis, extended to other regions, is likely to uncover more inter-regional relations;
- supplementation of contemporary data: sometimes historical data represent a former state when a specific linguistic feature occupied an area bigger than in the 20th century. Areas which are not adjacent to each other and which share a feature are extended by areas connecting them through historical data;
- connection of linguistic and non-linguistic data: this feature may be interpreted in different ways: 1) the location of Wielkopolska as a peripheral region in the 18th century is an explanation of the local archaisms, while the proximity of Prussia indicates the influence of the German language, 2) the diversity of the referents translates into the diverse words ('a container where bees are kept': *ul*, *koszka*, *barć*, *kloda*, *pień*), 3) a high degree of local variability (in a specific location) and lack of distinct geographic arrangements accompanied by a lack of the referents' diversity is an indication that variants operate as synonyms with a stylistic function, used in order to avoid repetitions.

An analysis of historical data by means of linguistic cartography has also revealed some drawbacks of the procedure:

- an unplanned network of locations in the 20th c. atlases, efforts were made to make the network of the surveyed locations regular and to obtain replies to the same set of questions in all the locations. In historical research, we must resort to the material; the same set of questions will bring about replies from only some locations;
- a selection of the mapped issues: examining lexical variants of identical (or similar) meaning forces a scholar to choose issues which have their variants in the material (this limitation does not pertain to the method of lexical fields); the issues selected in this way form a thematically diverse set;
- combining variants into types: this is required in an analysis of material that was not collected for research into variability; otherwise, the analysis would have stuck at the level of too dispersed and too detailed data.

While the method applied in this work certainly has its limitations, its benefits prevail and are more important than its drawbacks. The possibility of applying linguistic cartography in analysing inventory ledgers and other sufficiently numerous sources from the remaining regions of Poland are especially promising.

Abbreviations of the basic sources

- G Materiały do dziejów chłopa wielkopolskiego w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku, selected from county ledgers and published by J. Deresiewicz, vol. 2: Województwo gnieźnieńskie, Wrocław 1956.
- K Inwentarze dóbr szlacheckich powiatu kaliskiego, vol. 2: Z lat 1751–1775, W. Rusiński (ed.), Wrocław 1959.
- **KP** *Materiały do dziejów chłopa wielkopolskiego w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku*, selected from county ledgers and published by J. Deresiewicz, vol. 3: *Województwo kaliskie*, Wrocław 1957.

- P Materiały do dziejów chłopa wielkopolskiego w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku, selected from county ledgers and published by J. Deresiewicz, vol. 1: Województwo poznańskie, Wrocław 1956.
- **RK I–III** *Inwentarze dóbr szlacheckich dawnego powiatu kaliskiego z lat 1776–1792*, collected and edited by W. Rusiński, part 1: *Inventory ledgers z lat 1776–1779*, "Rocznik Kaliski", 1981, vol. 14, pp. 99–264; part 2: *Inventory ledgers z lat 1780–1784*, "Rocznik Kaliski", 1982, vol. 15, pp. 129–273; part 3: *Inventory ledgers z lat 1785–1792*, "Rocznik Kaliski", 1983, vol. 16, pp. 85–241.

The other abbreviations

- AGP Atlas gwar polskich: Dejna K., vol. 1: Malopolska, Warszawa 1998; Dejna K., Gala S., Zdaniukiewicz A., vol. 2: Mazowsze, Warszawa 2000; Dejna K., Gala S., vol. 3: Śląsk, Warszawa 2001; Dejna K., vol. 4: Wielkopolska, Kaszuby, Warszawa 2002.
- AJK Atlas językowy kaszubszczyzny i dialektów sąsiednich, Team of the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, preliminary volume, issues 1–6 and Supplement to vol. 1–6 under the supervision of Z. Stieber, issues 7–15 under the supervision of H. Popowska-Taborska, Wrocław 1964–1978.
- AJKLW Atlas języka i kultury ludowej Wielkopolski, vol. 1–6, Z. Sobierajski and J. Burszta, eds., Wrocław 1979–1991, vol. 7, Z. Sobierajski (ed.), Wrocław 1992, vol. 8–11, Z. Sobierajski (ed.), Poznań 1994–2005.
- AJPP Małecki M., Nitsch K. (1934), Atlas języka polskiego Podkarpacia, Kraków.
- AJŚ Zaręba A. (1969–1996), Atlas językowy Śląska, vol. 1, Kraków, vol. 2–7, Kraków–Warszawa, vol. 8, Warszawa.
- HKMP Historia kultury materialnej Polski. W zarysie, vol. 4: Od połowy XVII do końca XVIII w., Z. Kamieńska and B. Baranowski (eds.), Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1978.
- LO3 Ludzie oświecenia o języku i stylu, developed by Z. Florczak and L. Pszczołowska, M.R. Mayenowa (ed.), vol. 3, Warszawa 1957.
- MAGP *Maly atlas gwar polskich*, developed by the Institute of Dialectology (from vol. 4 Group in charge of the Atlas and Dictionary of Polish Subdialects), Institute of Linguistics of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Krakow, vol. 1–2 under the supervision of K. Nitsch, vol. 3–13 under the supervision of M. Karaś, Wrocław–Kraków 1957–1970.
- PSWP Praktyczny słownik współczesnej polszczyzny, H. Zgółkowa (ed.), vol. 1–50, Poznań 1994–2005.
- SD Słownik języka polskiego, W. Doroszewski (ed.), vol. 1–11, Warszawa 1958–1969.
- SL Linde S.B. (1807-1814), Słownik języka polskiego, vol. 1-6, Warszawa.
- SW Słownik języka polskiego, J. Karłowicz, A.A. Kryński, W. Niedźwiedzki (eds.), vol. 1–8, Warszawa 1900–1927.
- SWil Zdanowicz A. et al. (1861), Słownik języka polskiego, Vilnus.
- SXVI Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku, vol. 1–34, M.R. Mayenowa, F. Pepłowski (eds.), from vol. 35, K. Mrowcewicz, P. Potoniec (eds.), Wrocław 1966–1994, Warszawa 1995–.
- SXVII Slownik języka polskiego XVII i 1. polowy XVIII wieku, Krakow 1996–. Electronic version available on https://sxvii.pl/, and collection of *Slownik* available on http://www.rcin.org.pl/publication/20029 (30 Dec. 2018).

Bibliography

- Bańkowski A. (2000), Etymologiczny słownik języka polskiego, vol. 1-2, Warszawa.
- Baranowski B. (1958), Gospodarstwo chłopskie i folwarczne we wschodniej Wielkopolsce w XVIII wieku, Warszawa.
- Bartol-Jarosińska D. (1989), Społeczne osie wariantywności, [in:] Wariancja w języku. III Opolskie Spotkania Językoznawcze, Szczedrzyk 10–11.10.1989 r., S. Gajda (ed.), Opole, pp. 17–20.
- Basara A., Basara J. (1992), Polska gwarowa terminologia rolnicza. Przygotowanie gleby, uprawa ziemniaków, Kraków.
- Boryś W. (2008), Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego, Kraków.
- Breza E. (1991), *Slownictwo* inwentarzy starostw kościerskiego i puckiego *z XVII wieku*, "Gdańskie Studia Językoznawcze" 5, pp. 85–128.
- Brzeziński J. (1979), Wyznaczniki językowostylistyczne poezji sentymentalnej, Zielona Góra.
- Bułat M. (2009), Nazwy mieszkańców na podstawie ksiąg sądowych wiejskich Sądecczyzny od XVI do końca XVIII wieku, "Rocznik Sądecki", vol. 37, pp. 21–36.
- Burzywoda U. (1983), Morfologia i słownictwo urzędowych tekstów górnośląskich z okresu pruskiego, [in:] U. Burzywoda, A. Kowalska, O. Wolińska, Studia z dziejów języka polskiego na Górnym Śląsku w okresie pruskim, Katowice, pp. 9–100.
- Chaunu P. (1989), Cywilizacja wieku Oświecenia, translated by E. Bąkowska, Warszawa.
- Czyżewski Feliks, 2012, Diachronia w atlasach językowych, [in:] Słowa style metody, H. Pelcowa, M. Wojtak (eds.), Lublin, pp. 31–41.
- Dunaj B. (2010), Perspektywy badań historycznojezykowych, "LingVaria", R. 5, no. 2, pp. 53–57.
- Heinz A. (1974), *Pojęcie i rola wariantu językowego*, "Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego", issue 32, pp. 137–157.
- Horyń E. (2008), O nazwach surowców i produktów żywnościowych w XVI–XVIII w. na podstawie ksiąg sądowych (gromadzkich) wsi Iwkowa, Jadowniki, Maszkienice i Uszew, "Język Polski" 88, issues 4–5, pp. 305–317.
- Karaś M. (1968), Diachronia i synchronia w ujmowaniu faktów dialektologicznych, "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego" 169, "Prace Językoznawcze", issue 21, pp. 7–15.
- Kitowicz J. (1985), Opis obyczajów za panowania Augusta III, preface by M. Dernałowicz, Warszawa.
- Kleszczowa K. (2007), Grząski grunt źródel i faktów historycznojęzykowych, [in:] Amoenitates vel lepores philologiae, R. Laskowski, R. Mazurkiewicz (eds.), Kraków, pp. 141–148.
- Kloch Z. (1995), Spory o język, Warszawa.
- Kobylińska J. (1996), Językowy obraz wsi beskidzkiej w XVII w. na przykładzie nazw ziemi i jej mieszkańców w Księgach gromadzkich wsi Kasina Wielka, "Język Polski" 76, issues 4–5, pp. 337–348.
- Kość J. (1992), Księgi miejskie jako źródło do historii odmian polszczyzny, [in:] Odmiany polszczyzny XVII wieku, H. Wiśniewska and Cz. Kosyl (eds.), Lublin, pp. 39–48.
- Kość J. (2004), *Teksty ze sfery urzędowej w geolingwistyce diachronicznej*, "Poznańskie Spotkania Językoznawcze" 13, pp. 35–45.
- Kowalik-Kaletowa Z. (1970), Słownictwo tzw. utworów mazowieckich z XVII i XVIII wieku, "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Językoznawcze", issue 29, pp. 135–186.

- Kowalska A. (2002), Badania nad historią języka polskiego na Górnym Śląsku, [in:] Z badań nad dziejami języka polskiego na Górnym Śląsku, materials prepared for printing by J. Kowalski, J. Śliwiok, Katowice, pp. 15–22. First printing: Perspektywy badań śląskoznawczych. Językoznawstwo. Piśmiennictwo. Folklorystyka, D. Simonides, H. Borek (eds.), Wrocław 1981, pp. 41–47.
- Krycińska K. (1969), Wiedza o języku niektórych "obrońców polszczyzny" doby oświecenia, "Roczniki Humanistyczne", vol. 17, issue 4, pp. 143–152.
- Książek-Bryłowa W. (1992), Warianty fleksyjne w historii języka polskiego, [in:] T. Skubalanka, W. Książek-Bryłowa, Wariantywność polskiej fleksji, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, pp. 117–190.
- Leszczyński Z. (1980), Geografia językowa i jej skuteczność w badaniach diachronicznych, "Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego", issue 37, pp. 89–98.
- Lewaszkiewicz T. (2015), Wpływ języka niemieckiego na system gramatyczny języka ogólnopolskiego (na tle wpływów innojęzycznych), [in:] Einflüsse des Deutschen auf die grammatische Struktur slawixher Sprachen, hrsg. von S. Wölke und H. Bartels, Bautzen, pp. 90–120.
- Lewińska A. (2005), Słownictwo z zakresu dawnej kultury materialnej w "Inwentarzu ekonomii malborskiej" z 1745 roku, Gdańsk.
- Matuszczyk B. (2005), W sprawie regionalizmów i dialektyzmów wielkopolskich w Słowniku Samuela Bogumiła Lindego, [in:] Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Profesorowi Wojciechowi Ryszardowi Rzepce z okazji 65. urodzin, J. Migdał (ed.), Poznań, pp. 265–274.
- Ochmański W. (1965), Wiedza rolnicza w Polsce od XVI do połowy XVIII wieku, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków.
- Orzechowska H. (1989), Dwa warianty w języku Biblii Dalmatina i ich losy w sto pięćdziesiąt lat później (Palmarium empyreum 1731), [in:] Wariancja w języku. III Opolskie Spotkania Językoznawcze, Szczedrzyk 10–11.10.1989 r., S. Gajda (ed.), Opole, pp. 163–167.
- Osowski B. (2016a), Czy inwentarze dóbr szlacheckich mogą być źródłem do badań dialektologicznych? Problem piśmienności i odmian polszczyzny, [in:] System tekst człowiek. Studia nad dawnymi i współczesnymi językami słowiańskimi, M. Gębka-Wolak, J. Kamper-Warejko, I. Kaproń-Charzyńska (eds.), Toruń, pp. 115–126.
- Osowski B. (2016b), *O jednym z XVIII-wiecznych źródeł dialektologii historycznej z terenu Wielkopolski*, [in:] *Język w regionie, region w języku*, B. Osowski, J. Kobus, P. Michalska-Górecka and A. Piotrowska-Wojaczyk (eds.), Poznań, pp. 93–108.
- Osowski B. (2019), Wariantywność leksykalno-semantyczna języka wielkopolskich inwentarzy z drugiej połowy XVIII wieku. Studia z dialektologii historycznej, Poznań.
- Pepłowski F. (1988), Wyrazy gwarowe w "Słowniku" J.S. Bandtkiego, [in:] Wokół języka. Rozprawy i studia poświęcone pamięci profesora Mieczysława Szymczaka, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź, pp. 305–313.
- Postman N. (2001), W stronę XVIII stulecia. Jak przeszłość może doskonalić naszą przyszłość, translated by R. Frąc, Warszawa.
- Pośpiech A. (1992), Pułapka oczywistości. Pośmiertne spisy ruchomości szlachty wielkopolskiej z XVII wieku, Warszawa.
- Rutkowski J. (1956), *Studia z dziejów wsi polskiej XVI–XVIII w.*, selection and preface by W. Kula, Warszawa.
- Rzepka W.R., Walczak B. (1992), Socjolekt szlachecki XVII wieku (Próba ogólnej charakterystyki), [in:] Barok w polskiej kulturze, literaturze i języku. Materiały konferencji naukowej

- 25–29 sierpnia 1987 r. w Krakowie, M. Stępień and S. Urbańczyk (eds.), Warszawa-Kraków, pp. 179–188.
- Sagan-Bielawa M. (2014), Dziedzictwo pozaborowe. Społeczna świadomość językowa Polaków w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej, Kraków.
- Siatkowski J. (1958), Słownictwo Warmii i Mazur. Budownictwo i obróbka drewna, Wrocław.
- Szczepański B. (1971), Przemiany w strukturze społeczno-gospodarczej ludności wiejskiej w dobrach szlacheckich powiatu konińskiego w wieku XVIII, [in:] Studia historyczno-gospodarcze nad Polską Zachodnią, J. Deresiewicz (ed.), Poznań, pp. 131–191.
- Topolski J. (1999), Polska w czasach nowożytnych. Od środkowoeuropejskiej potęgi do utraty niepodległości (1501–1795), Poznań.
- Urbańczyk S. (1977), Hierarchia kryteriów poprawności językowej we współczesnym języku polskim, [in:] Wariancja normy we współczesnych słowiańskich językach literackich. Księga referatów V Sesji Międzynarodowej Komisji Słowiańskich Języków Literackich w Krakowie (październik 1975 r.), S. Urbańczyk (ed.), Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk, pp. 75–82.
- Walczak B. (1997), *Słownictwo*, [in:] *Słownik gwary miejskiej Poznania*, M. Gruchmanowa and B. Walczak (eds.), Warszawa–Poznań, pp. 53-69.
- Wyderka B. (1985), *Język polski w osiemnastowiecznych dokumentach kancelarii raciborskich*, "Kwartalnik Opolski", year 31, 3/4, pp. 44–62.
- Wyderka B. (1990), O składni kilku śląskich zabytków piśmiennictwa kancelaryjnego z XVIII wieku, "Studia z Filologii Polskiej i Słowiańskiej", vol. 26, pp. 83–98.
- Zajda A. (2001), Dwadzieścia dwa rzadkie wyrazy prawnicze z ksiąg sądowych wiejskich, [in:] Studia językoznawcze dar przyjaciół i uczniów dla Zofii Kurzowej, Z. Cygal-Krupow (ed.), Kraków, pp. 421–430.
- Zaręba A. (1954), Nazwy barw w dialektach i historii języka polskiego. Z 2 mapami, Wrocław.
- Zdaniukiewicz A.A. (1978), Kształtowanie się teoretycznych podstaw krzewienia kultury języka w Polsce w XVI–XVIII w., "Język Polski" 58, issue 5, pp. 324–332.